



**trade union information**

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

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(since 1945 in West Germany or the Federal Republic of Germany)

### Background

The origins of the German trade union movement go far back into the 19th century. The "Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein" (General Association of German Workers) was founded in Leipzig as far back as 1863 under the spiritual leadership of Ferdinand Lassalle. A year later, the Bishop of Mainz, von Ketteler, laid down the foundation for the formation of the Christian trade unions in the 1890s with his pamphlet "Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum" (The Working Class Question and Christianity). After August Brust founded the first Christian miners association in 1894, the founding congress of a Christian trade union federation was held in Mainz in 1899.

With the merger of the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein with the already existing Cigarmakers Association the founding congress of the "Arbeiterschäftsverband" (Labour Association) was held in 1868. The "Gewerksgenossenschaften" (labour cooperatives), which were also already in operation, merged with the Arbeiterschäftsverband in 1875. 1868 also saw the founding of the liberal "Hirsch-Dunkersche Gewerkvereine" (Hirsch-Dunker workers associations), which attached particular importance to communication and cooperation with the employers.

After the two Socialist parties combined to form the "Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands" (Socialist Workers Party of Germany) in Gotha in 1875, an era of increasingly close cooperation with the like-thinking unions began, although the Anti-Socialist Law was a major obstacle. It was not until this law was repealed in 1890 that the way was clear for effective public activities.

The final decade of the 19th century saw a number of important developments within the union movement:

- 1892: at a congress in Halberstadt a "general commission" was confirmed as the standing supreme body of the trade unions; Carl Legien became its chairman and remained for many years the leader of the free Socialist unions;

- 1894: foundation of the first Christian trade union by August Brust;
- 1899: founding congress of the Christian trade union federation in Mainz.

The three "ideological" union movements (free Socialist, Christian and Liberal) and the individual unions of which they were composed dominated the trade union scene in imperial Germany (up to the end of World War One) and during the Weimar Republic. With the union movement split in this way, the results were anything but good; this is particularly true of the period of worldwide economic crisis at the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties when the Weimar Republic was being destroyed from within. When the National Socialists took power in 1933, touching off a course of events which was fateful for the whole of Europe, the unions of all persuasions were the first organizations to be banned and dissolved. Their assets were confiscated, their members were transferred collectively to the newly formed "Deutsche Arbeiterfront" (German Workers' Front), and many union officials were arrested, tortured and sentenced to prison terms or thrown into concentration camps.

In those years of terror and total loss of liberty many came to realise that every effort must be made to prevent the union movement being split along political or ideological lines. It was in this spirit that those union officials who had survived the Nazi terror and the war made a very rapid start on reorganizing the unions. Their aim was a homogenous trade union movement which would include all employed persons regardless of their political or religious convictions and be capable of jointly creating a new social order and fighting for equal rights for all workers.

Thus, in building up the new union movement in the Federal Republic of Germany after World War Two, the principle not only of avoiding a return to the old ideologically oriented unions but also that of having all the members of a firm belong to the same union (the industrial trade union principle) was observed. In 1949 the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB - German Trade Union Federation) was founded in Munich, embodying the aforementioned principles, i.e. the single trade union movement and the industrial trade union. Today 17 trade unions or industrial trade unions belong the German Trade Union Federation, which has a total of over seven million members.

Unfortunately, there was not complete success in the immediate postwar period in getting the concept of the single trade union movement and the

principle of the industrial trade union accepted. Even today there are a number of trade union federations or trade unions alongside the DGB, which must either be regarded as ideologically oriented or which have remained faithful to the craft union principle. These are:

- the "Christliche Gewerkschaftsbund Deutschlands" (CGD - German Christian Trade Union Federation);
- the "Deutsche Beamtenbund" (DBB - German Civil Servants Federation);
- the "Deutsche Angestelltengewerkschaft" (DAG - German Salaried Employees' Union);
- and a number of small craft unions.

While the CGD has relatively few members, who tend to be concentrated in certain regions, the DBB has over 700 000 members and the DAG some 480 000 members. The DGB takes the view that the DBB is not a trade union organization meeting the customary criteria and requirements.

Repeated efforts to achieve a rapprochement between the DGB and the DAG in terms of their organizational approach have so far come to nought; however, there are no political or ideological disagreements between the DGB and the DAG.

All trade unions in the Federal Republic of Germany are associations under private law in line with para 21 of the "Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch" (Civil Code). Two of the essential characteristics demanded of a trade union are that they be independent of employers and that their statutes embody the determination to achieve workers' demands by means of strikes.

### Strikes and lockouts

Since there are no specific laws governing the activities of associations, strikes and lockouts are sources of controversy between the unions and the employers' associations; the political parties likewise disagree. In practice, the ways in which these weapons are used is determined largely by the decisions handed down by the upper courts. Many collective agreements contain strike provisions, particularly regarding the obligation to refrain from industrial action. The DGB and the DAG consistently take the view that legislation banning lockouts should be passed. At present there is little likelihood that this will happen.

The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the countries with the smallest

number of working days lost through strikes. This is indubitably due to the fact that in many sectors of the economy agreements exist between the unions and the employers' associations on the calling of strikes and the settlement of disputes. It should also be mentioned that political strikes are illegal and that the law permits only industrial action arising out of the interaction of individual employers or employers' associations and the unions in connection with attempts to get workers' demands accepted.

### The unions and politics

The DGB, the DAG and the DBB, which - as we have seen - are all organized along different lines, regard themselves as independent of governments, parties, religions and employers, and all three endorse ideological, religious and political tolerance. The concept of political neutrality used in this connection is not infrequently consciously or unconsciously misinterpreted. The DGB, in particular, repeatedly points out that political neutrality should not be confused with political abstinence. On the contrary, says the DGB, the unions are definitely a political factor in a democratic state in which political group interests compete with each other.

Democracy and independence of the trade unions in a socially responsible constitutional state, which has to be developed in material and spiritual terms, are established principles of the major workers' associations. Generally speaking, they do not take joint action to assert their members' political, social and cultural interests; though there is broad agreement on certain aims, there are obvious differences on many questions, particularly when it comes to judging ways and means of achieving specific objectives.

### International links

DGB: the DGB is a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), which since 1973 has included not only the Member States of the European Community but also all the democratic countries of Western Europe.

DAG: In keeping with its own structure, the DAG is not a member of an international confederation of national trade unions, but is a member of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (IFCCTE), an international employees secretariat, which collaborates closely with the ICFTU and maintains a European regional organization (EURO-FIET)

with headquarters in Brussels.

CGB: The Christian trade unions and their federation are members of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), but - like almost all Christian trade union federations in Western Europe - did not join the ETUC.

#### The German Trade Union Federation

The German Trade Union Federation, which is made up of the following trade unions which are organized as industrial unions, has close to eight million members:

Building and Non-metallic Minerals Industries Union;  
Mining and Energy Industries Union;  
Chemical, Papermaking and Ceramics Industries Union;  
Printing and Allied Trades Union;  
German Railwaymen's Union;  
Education and Science Union;  
Horticultural, Agricultural and Forestry Workers Union;  
Commercial, Banking and Insurance Workers Union;  
Wood and Synthetic Workers Union;  
Arts Union;  
Leatherworkers Union;  
Metalworking Industries Union;  
Foodstuff and Catering Workers Union;  
Public Service and Transport Workers Union;  
Police Union;  
German Postal Workers Union;  
Textile and Clothing Workers Union

The DGB, which has its headquarters in Düsseldorf, has nine regional Land divisions, which are subdivided into district and local committees. The individual unions likewise have similar structures.

The DGB's statutes state that its supreme body is the Federal Congress, which is held every three years at a different venue. The DGB's member unions and its regional organizations are represented in this congress. During the periods between congresses the Federal Council makes the most important decisions; this body is made up of the DGB Chairman; the eight other members of the Steering Committee of the Federal Executive Board, the Chairmen of the 17 member trade unions and the Chairmen of the nine

DGB Land organizations. The Federal Executive, made up of the Chairman and members of the Steering Committee of the Federal Executive along with the Chairmen of the 17 member unions, holds regular meetings between the meetings of the Federal Council. All these persons are elected by the DGB Federal Congress, the congresses held by the DGB Land organizations and the congresses of the individual unions.

The regional breakdown of the DGB into Land and district organizations is likewise to be found in the individual unions and, in view of the Federal Republic of Germany's federal structure, is of major importance for the union movement.

The statutes of the DGB lay down the conditions of membership for the individual unions; these include a provision regarding the contributions made by these unions to the DGB (at present 12% of the dues received by these unions from their members). They also cover provisions regarding the joint solidarity fund.

The DGB and its member unions endorse the inalienable rights of the individual to freedom and self-determination. They are working for a society in which human dignity is respected; they demand the implementation of the United Nations declaration on human rights throughout the world. The unions regard it as one of their prime tasks to cooperate in developing the socially responsible constitutional state and casting society in a democratic mould.

The DGB and its member unions have at their disposal an extensive battery of publications - including a weekly newspaper and a monthly magazine which are on public sale - with which to publicise themselves and their policies.

Among trade union establishments the following are of particular importance: the "Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Institut des DGB" (Economic and Social Science Institute of the DGB) and the Hans Böckler-Stiftung" (Hans Böckler Foundation), which is concerned mainly with questions of worker participation and with providing support for young union members wishing to acquire qualifications. In this context mention should be made of two educational institutions supported by the DGB: the "Akademie der Arbeit in der Universität Frankfurt" (Institute of Labour Studies within the University of Frankfurt) and the "Sozialakademie" (Institute of Social Policy) in Dortmund.

There are six DGB federal schools and ten youth training centres - forming a civil-law association - for the education and training of union members. In addition, some of the DGB member unions have training centres of their own.

Of particular importance is the close association of the DGB and its member unions with the cooperative movement, particularly the non-profit-oriented undertakings. These include the "Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft AG", the "Volksfürsorge" insurance company and the "Neue Heimat" house building and urban development group.

Mention should, finally, be made of the "Bund Verlag", a DGB publishing house concerned mainly with trade union and political literature, and the "Büchergilde Gutenberg", a publishing house engaged in printing and distributing reasonably-priced books.

#### The Basic Programme of the DGB

In Spring 1981 the DGB held an extraordinary congress in Düsseldorf, at which it adopted a new Basic Programme to replace the previous programme dating from 1963. In German eyes the purpose of such a programme - which must be continually updated in line with political and social changes - is to set out the objectives of trade union policy and the means to be used in the task of defending workers' interests. It is significant that the DGB and its affiliated unions also recognise a responsibility towards the nation at large.

In terms purely of outward form, the 1981 Basic Programme displays certain differences of structure as compared with the 1963 Programme. The body of the new Programme comprises thirty main headings covering a wide range of matters across the whole spectrum of economic, social and cultural policy. This reflects the fact that in seeing themselves as "a force for democratic integration and one of the keys to the further democratization of the economy and society at large", the unions have taken on a task which cannot be confined to safeguarding the material interests of workers. In fulfilling this task the unions affiliated to the DGB undertake to exercise "rigorous philosophical, religious and political tolerance" so as to demonstrate at all times their independence from governments, political parties, churches and business interests. In the opinion of the DGB and its affiliated unions, the movement can only achieve its goal if manual workers, salaried employees and civil servants are united in a single organization.



The Basic Programme asserts in this connection that: "Only if the workers are united can they hope to act as an effective counterbalance to the economic and political power of the employers".

With regard to the situation in the Federal Republic, the Preamble to the Basic Programme states that: "Developments ..... have lead to a restoration of the old property and power relations. The concentration of capital continues relentlessly. Small firms are being either forced to the wall or brought under the control of the giants and workers remain very largely excluded from any say in the control of the means of production". The unions are therefore determined to fight for the "extension of worker participation" as a step towards "a fundamental reform of the economy and society which will give workers an equal say in all decisions in the economic, social and cultural spheres."

In relation to the promotion of peace and détente internationally, the Preamble makes the following comments: "Détente, disarmament and the preservation of peace are matters of special concern to the Federal Republic, lying as it does in an exposed position at the junction of two alliances. It is therefore the clear duty of the trade unions - and indeed of all social and political forces in the country - to support the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence." "One priority in this context is the establishment of systematic arrangements for global conflict research and peace planning aimed at identifying and defusing tensions at the earliest possible stage".

The Basic Programme takes an unambiguous stand on nuclear weapons: "The trade unions call for a ban on the development, production, stocking, proliferation and use of nuclear weapons, other weapons with mass destruction capabilities and new weapon technologies. Controlled multilateral disarmament remains the goal of the union movement."

The union attitude to international economic cooperation emerges from the following sentences in the Preamble: "The tasks facing us today cannot be accomplished without cooperation and solidarity between individuals, peoples and states. Our aim must therefore be to bring into being a political and economic community embracing all the free democratic nations of Europe and to establish close ties between Europe and the rest of the world." Then again: "If full employment, adequate qualitative and quantitative economic growth and steady growth in income are to be achieved, the world must escape from the straitjacket of national economies through the establishment of a

new international order based on cooperation".

The sequence of the thirty points which go to make up the body of the Programme underlines the special importance attached firstly to safeguarding the rights of workers and their unions and secondly to humanizing working conditions. A series of demands - some immediate and others long-term in character - are formulated in three sections: "Worker Rights", "The Employment Relationship" and "The Humanization of Work":

- In view of its constitutional obligation to ensure justice for all and to promote the welfare of its citizens, the State is in duty bound to lay the foundations for the translation into reality of the right to work and training. The establishment and maintenance of full employment are vital preconditions for this.
- Appropriate steps must be taken to enable both men and women to reconcile occupational, family and social commitments.
- Workers have the right to combine in trade unions. The right of these unions to act freely in the pursuit of such tasks as they may set themselves is an integral and unqualified element of the fundamental democratic order in a free society.
- The trade unions' right to strike is inviolable. Any attempt on the part of employers to use lockouts - in whatever shape or form - as an instrument for the imposition of their arbitrary will is unconstitutional and must be prohibited.
- The free determination of working conditions and terms of employment through the negotiation of collective agreements is the exclusive prerogative of the unions on the one hand and employers and their associations on the other. Any attempt on the part of the State to interfere with the principle of free collective bargaining is wholly unacceptable.
- The personality of the worker and his dignity as a human being must be respected at work as elsewhere.
- Men and women must have equal opportunities for employment and advancement. Work of equivalent value merits equal pay.
- The law concerning dependent employment should be brought together in a single, socially progressive Labour Code.
- All economic activities must be measured in terms of compatibility with the quality of working and living conditions which the individual has a right to expect.

- Since technical and organizational changes do not necessarily lead to improved working and living conditions, rationalization and automation must not be allowed to endanger the jobs, skill status, health or incomes of workers. Private and public sector employers implementing rationalization measures must be required to contribute both towards the financing of aid for the workers affected and the creation of new jobs.
- The qualifications of workers must not be devalued.
- Working conditions, the working environment and the organization of work must be so arranged as to eliminate accident and health risks.
- Night work, shift work, work on weekends/public holidays and work at irregular times must be kept to an absolute minimum and organized in such a way as to enable the workers concerned to participate in social and political life. Night work should in future only be permitted where it is necessary on technical grounds or in the public interest.

In a section headed "The foundations of economic activity" the DGB asserts that: "all forms of economic activity are, by their very nature, social. Businesses must therefore be directed not solely by considerations of profit but also by the need to meet their social obligations".

DGB does not advocate any particular, ideologically determined economic order but rather demands that an economic order be established which operates in line with certain fundamental principles and requirements:

- All workers must:
  - (i) enjoy the maximum possible in the way of freedom, self-determination and social security;
  - (ii) participate in the economy on an equal basis;
  - (iii) be guaranteed suitable jobs under conditions consonant with the dignity of man.
- An equitable distribution of incomes and wealth must be achieved.
- The ecological balance must be restored and maintained.
- Abuses of economic power must be prevented and the exercise of such power subjected to democratic control.
- Both competition and planning must be used as tools for the attainment of economic goals.

It is clear from the above that the DGB is no advocate of a rigid, ideologically determined economic system.

The next section of the Basic Programme asserts that the right to work is a fundamental human right and therefore demands that the goal of full employment be accorded priority within the framework of economic policy. All institutions capable of influencing the employment situation should, it is argued, be required to direct their efforts towards this end and both public authorities and private firms should take account at all times in their planning and decision-making of the need to safeguard existing jobs and create new ones.

The DGB is of the opinion that steady, well-directed economic growth is one important precondition for the establishment of full employment, though by no means the only one. It stresses, however, that: "A quality-oriented growth policy must give priority to the promotion of growth in those areas which are most deserving in social terms - namely welfare and other services beneficial to the individual, social infrastructure investments, the development of domestic raw material and energy resources and of promising manufacturing industries."

Whilst technical progress is recognized as playing a vital role in raising the general standard of living and easing the burden of work on the individual, the DGB stresses that it must be exploited in such a way as to serve the goals of safeguarding employment and humanizing work.

The Programme emphasizes in this context that reductions in working time constitute a step towards the humanization of work and facilitate participation in social life for workers and their families. In relation more specifically to the situation prevailing at present, it is suggested that reductions in working time can help to reduce unemployment and lighten the individual's workload.

Under the heading "Checks on the exercise of economic power", the DGB calls for the active employment of instruments designed primarily to prevent the abuse of economic power - one such instrument being worker and union participation in decision-making and the democratization and reform of company structure. It is important in this context that steps be taken to ensure ongoing monitoring of the process of industrial concentration and more extensive disclosure requirements for firms. The Programme also draws attention to the need for effective control of monopolies and cartels,

the potential for stimulating competition via the activities of firms in the public and non-profit-oriented sectors and the possibility of transferring into public ownership key industries and firms in dominant positions elsewhere in the economy.

The Basic Programme expressly demands worker participation in all decisions in economic, social and personnel matters together with a single set of participation rules for all large firms irrespective of legal form which should comprise provisions at least as favourable as those currently applied in the coalmining and steel industries. These demands relate to all public and private undertakings whether officially profit-oriented or not. Reforms in the structure of management-labour relations in the firm are also demanded in the shape of company law provisions strengthening the rights of the organs of worker participation in firms and establishing full parity between capital and labour in all major decision-making processes in firms.

On the subject of "Competition and planning", the Programme states that:

- "Though the economic order should be centred on the principle of competition, all economies require a measure of planning. Both competition and planning should be used as tools for the attainment of economic policy goals".
- "If the goals of full employment and socially beneficial economic growth are to be attained, coordination of all economic policy measures is essential. An outline plan should be drawn up in the light of the information provided by the national accounts - which must be expanded to form a comprehensive system of economic and social reporting". "The trade unions must have a say in the preparation of regional and sectoral plans to be drawn together in due course in Land development plans and a Federal development plan."
- "Investment in both public and private sectors must be tuned to the structural and cyclical requirements of the economy as a whole." Such a policy of investment control should, the unions argue, be founded on a system of reporting, coordination and performance assessment. Amongst other things, this will require the establishment of an office to which large firms and groups will be obliged to notify their investment plans and attendant implications for employment policy.

With regard to public expenditure and to finance, tax and monetary policy, the Basic Programme asserts that: "Public expenditure must be directed towards meeting society's needs, promoting social justice and creating and safeguarding jobs. Government tax and finance policies should similarly be subordinated to these goals." Then again: "Public contracts and subsidies to the private sector must be tied to certain conditions as regards the creation/safeguarding of jobs and to compliance with collective agreements, worker participation rules and welfare provisions." In relation to tax policy, the Programme further states that: "The principle of social justice must be paramount in tax policy. The balance between direct and indirect taxation should also be in line with this principle. Business profits and high incomes should be taxed more heavily."

A special section of the Basic Programme draws attention to the significance of public sector undertakings, calling for the maintenance and extension of public ownership in the economy and urging the development of a coherent system and semi-public undertakings. In this connection, it is asserted that the non-profit-oriented private sector has an important role to play in an economy directed towards the good of the community at large.

As far as energy policy is concerned, the Basic Programme cites four principles:

- (a) All possibilities for rational energy saving must be exploited to the full.
- (b) Development efforts must be intensified in relation to both new and existing non-nuclear energy sources - especially those which are renewable in character.
- (c) The use of nuclear power must be increased only to the extent absolutely necessary. Safe disposal of waste and the protection both of workers in the nuclear industry and of the public at large are vital, as are measures to ensure that fissile materials are not used for military purposes.

With regard to the need for international cooperation, the Programme emphasizes that the closeness of the interrelationships within the world economy and the consequent interdependence of national economies are such as to demand supranational cooperation in both political and economic matters. The DGB does go on to stress that: "Further economic and social progress will not be possible unless the wide and growing gulf in incomes

both within and between countries can be narrowed." The trade unions, it is argued, have a major role to play in the improvement of living and working conditions worldwide. The Programme further asserts that: "It is in the interests of the industrialized countries themselves to narrow the gap in incomes between north and south and help the developing countries to become, in the long term, equal trading partners with growing, receptive domestic markets."

Of particular significance in this context are the multinationals, which influence the development of both industrialized and developing countries. "The business policies must therefore be brought into line with the economic and social policy goals of both industrialized and developing countries."

Then again: "The activities of multinational companies must be subjected to effective surveillance by trade unions, governments and international organizations".

The Basic Programme then proceeds to consider questions of social policy and health care. To begin with it is pointed out that the union movement has in the past achieved major successes in promoting the extension of social security cover, with the result that the present system represents a good foundation for further developments in line with the needs of workers. Particular emphasis is laid on the principle of self-management for social security institutions and on the need for cooperation between the individual branches of these institutions.

Old-age pension insurance should, it is argued, cover all gainfully employed persons and be organized according to the principle of the "contract between the generations". The Programme therefore calls for comprehensive and compulsory insurance for all employed persons. With regard to old-age cover for spouses, the Programme urges a comprehensive reform introducing arrangements whereby pension entitlements would be divided equally between husband and wife (a pre-condition for this being the elimination of those provisions in pension law which at present discriminate against women). The DGB particularly stresses that arrangements for the transition from working life to retirement must be made more flexible irrespective of any general lowering of the retirement age. It should moreover be regarded as a duty of society not only to safeguard the material interests of the elderly but also to provide such services and aids as are necessary to enable them to

cope with life and can help them to enjoy a meaningful existence throughout the extended period of retirement available to them.

The Programme also sets out a number of other principles in relation to social security benefits and financing:

- In the event of loss of earnings, the social security institutions should provide workers and their families with cash benefits sufficient to enable them to maintain their previous standard of living.
- Steps must be taken to ensure that every worker is entitled in the event of a reduction in earning capacity or on retirement to a pension index-linked to gross wages which will enable him to maintain his previous standard of living.
- Action should be taken to ensure the economic protection of mothers and their children.
- The financing of social security benefits should be based on the principle of solidarity, i.e. insured persons should contribute in proportion to their resources. Over and above its specific guarantees in relation to individual sectors of the social security system, the Federal Government must provide a blanket guarantee for the financing of the whole system.
- The Federal Labour Office (in Nürnberg) should be financed via special contributions to be paid by all gainfully employed persons in proportion to their earnings. Half of the contribution due in respect of an employee should be paid by his employer.
- Family benefits, and more particularly child allowances, should be financed from public funds.
- Fulfilment of the State's obligation to ensure justice for all and to promote the welfare of its citizens demands the existence of independent tribunals for labour, welfare and administrative questions. The rulings of such tribunals must observe the principles arising from this obligation and contribute to the further development of labour and welfare law and civil service regulations.

With regard to housing policy, the Programme stresses that: "The right to decent housing with security of tenure is a fundamental human right. It is the duty of both Federal, Land and local authorities to ensure through appropriate housing policies that everyone is in a position to enjoy this



right, since the requirement for social justice will not be met if market forces are allowed entirely free play."

Mention of environmental protection is a new element introduced by this Programme, which calls for a halt to the growing problems of environmental pollution. According to the DGB, it is one of the State's major tasks to take action, with due regard to considerations of employment policy, to halt and reverse the present trend towards increasing environmental pollution and damage. In this context, the "polluter pays" principle should apply, i.e. responsibility for putting right damage to the environment should lie with those who caused it in the first place. Equal emphasis should, however, be laid on the principle that prevention is better than cure - and hence on regulations, ordinances, monitoring arrangements, etc. designed to help prevent damage to the environment. In relation to transport policy, the DGB demands that priority be accorded to "those forms of public transport which are least damaging to the environment - notably the railways".

On the question of education and training, the Programme sets out the following principles:

- The trade unions' demands with respect to general and vocational education are directed towards ensuring that workers can acquire general and vocational qualifications and maintain these on a lasting basis, thereby gaining long-term security of earning capacity.
- Educational expenditure should be regarded as long-term investments aimed at satisfying the needs of workers and ensuring economic efficiency.
- Both general and vocational education are the responsibility of the State. Barriers between the two must be eliminated wherever they exist within the educational system.
- Provision in the field of vocational education must be such as to ensure that all workers receive a broad basic vocational education and are able to acquire, via an initial training of at least three years, qualifications which will equip them on the one hand for varied, demanding jobs and on the other for active participation both at work and in society at large.
- Workers must have the opportunity to undertake such initial and further training as is appropriate to their capacities and inclinations.
- Where the dual system of training within firms and at joint training centres is concerned, steps must be taken to ensure that the laws and

collectively agreed provisions protecting employees also apply to trainees.

- Since the pace of change in both the economy and society at large is such as to demand that education be an ongoing process, the right to education must also include the right to continuing education. The various facets of continuing education provision must be brought together; continuing education should, moreover, be supported from public funds and integrated into an all-embracing educational system. Action should be taken to overcome social, regional and subject imbalances and shortcomings so as to eliminate discrimination in continuing education provision.
- Recognition must be gained in both collective agreements and statutory provisions for the right of all workers to paid educational leave.
- Education must not be used as an instrument of social selection. Schools should therefore foster all forms of talent and endeavour to even out social differences.
- The organization and equipment of schools, universities and other educational establishments must not be dependent on short-term budgetary considerations but rather on educational needs. Everyone should be entitled to an education of at least 13 years, which implies compulsory provision of appropriate initial vocational training as well as the statutory imposition of a tenth year of schooling in all Länder.
- Institutions of higher education make a major contribution to social progress through their teaching and research activities. Higher education should be open to all as a matter of principle, without restriction in terms of formal attainments.
- Equal opportunities in higher education cannot be achieved without an improvement in the material circumstances of students through the introduction of a system of non-repayable grants adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of living.

Science and research, whose results change the working and living conditions of workers, are becoming increasingly important in our society. The trade unions argue that freedom is essential if science, research and teaching are to play their proper role in promoting the all-round development of man and improving working and living conditions. Science and research must therefore be in a position to fulfil their social responsibilities independently of the interests of firms; it is in this area that state support for research should come into its own. Steps must be taken to intensify cooperation between universities and trade unions.

In the context of the citizen's right to truthful and comprehensive information on all important matters, the press, radio and television have a decisive role to play in the formation of public opinion in a free democratic country. The Basic Programme attaches great importance to this point, speaking out strongly in favour of freedom of information for the press and the independence of journalists, who must in its view be in a position to express their opinions without restriction. In return, the Programme calls on both press, radio and TV to direct their efforts towards defending the fundamental rights enshrined in the Basic Law and promoting democracy and the preservation of peace. Particularly significant is the statement that: "radio and television broadcasting in the Federal Republic must be the responsibility of bodies governed by public law". The Programme warns against any attempt to place control of these bodies in private hands.

The final section of the Basic Programme tackles the question of art and culture, asserting that: "The policy of the trade unions in cultural matters is directed towards encouraging cultural initiatives on the part of workers and facilitating their participation in cultural life".

In view of their importance in fostering the creative development of the individual, it is argued, art and culture need a climate of intellectual freedom and must not be the preserve of a minority. The unions support the provision of social security cover for all artists and regard it as essential that artists be brought to a situation where they can recognize their place in society and fulfil the tasks consequent thereon. The promotion of international cultural exchanges is regarded as an important task.

The Basic Programme also devotes a section to the question of sport, which must, it says, be regarded today as "a major facet of social life" and encouraged accordingly. The Programme does, however, emphasize that sport must be assessed in terms of the extent to which it fulfils its social tasks; with this proviso, sport in the widest sense can play a positive role.

The above outline of the DGB's Basic Programme, ranging as it does over the whole spectrum of political and social questions, demonstrates clearly the determination of the Federation and its affiliated unions to be active in all areas of social life in defence of the interests of its members and, indeed, of all workers. The trade unions thus represent a significant factor on the political scene in the Federal Republic - and this is particularly true of the DGB, which formulates and pursues its own political and social goals independently of both governments and political parties.

## The German Salaried Employees' Union (DAG)

Immediately after World War Two an attempt was made in what is now the Federal Republic of Germany to introduce the industrial union principle, which implies that not more than one trade union shall be active within a given firm. However, in 1949 the German Salaried Employees' Union was set up as a kind of overall union for salaried employees in all sectors of the economy. The DAG regards this organizational form as suited to serving the interests of salaried employees, explaining its attitude as follows:

"Effective representation of interests by a union must take into account considerations relating to the occupation, the establishment, the undertaking and the sector. The traditional organizational forms of the industrial union principle (one firm - one union) and the occupational union principle (one occupation - one union) simply do not correspond to the conditions governing the modern working world." This basic difference of opinion on organizational setup has so far prevented closer cooperation between the DGB and the DAG, although both organizations agree on many points as regards the social policy aims they set themselves.

The members of the DAG are divided into occupational sections, the individual member belonging to whichever section corresponds to his occupation. The purpose of these sections is to represent the social, economic and cultural interests of those engaged in the occupation in question. This principle is felt to be particularly suited to protecting and promoting the members' "occupation-related interests".

Each occupational section has a vertical structure descending from its federal congress to local committees. In addition, working parties can be set up, as required, to deal with specific concerns of members in specific occupations.

The following are examples of occupational sections:

- Clerical employees
- Public service
- Banking
- Insurance
- Salaried employees in the mining industry
- Master craftsmen
- Shipping, etc.

The DAG is not only divided into occupational sections but also into regional associations, which correspond roughly to the Länder, and into individual administrative bodies within the regional associations. At each level there is close cooperation between the individuals and bodies whose responsibilities lie within the territorially-based setup and the occupationally-based setup. On both sides of the DAG structure persons bearing responsibility are elected by the relevant assemblies or committees.

Like the DGB, the DAG is involved in business undertakings; it owns a housing construction company in Hamburg and is part-owner, with the Land Berlin, of a non-profit housing construction company.

The DAG gives great attention to vocational training and has set up three educational institutions:

- the "Bildungswerk der DAG",
- the "Deutsche Angestellten-Akademie", and
- the "DAG-Technikum".

The DAG publishes three periodicals for its members, which appear at regular intervals.

The theoretical bases of the DAG's endeavours are its Social Policy Programme and an emergency programme, which was submitted to the Bundestag in November 1980. The Social Policy Programme dates from 1971, though a chapter on "international trade union endeavours" was added to it in 1975.

In its introduction the programme stresses that the essential prerequisite for a more humane society is comprehensive control of economic power and worker participation at all levels. It also maintains that the capitalist industrial system is not able of its own resources to create the pre-requisites for satisfaction of social requirements. That is why the unions must fight for the improvement of living and working conditions, it says.

With regard to the desired economic order within which self-expression and realisation of the individual's potential may be achieved, the programme says unequivocally:

"The growth of our economy and of the national product are based on the private-sector form of production and the principle of free competition within a market economy."

The economic order must be developed into a system "based on a private and as broad-based as possible an ownership of the means of production, continuing to derive its decisive impulses and incentives from economic competition, yet clearly subordinating the distribution of profits to the social principle, i.e. to social requirements".

These demands are regarded by the DAG as the basis of a socially responsible market economy.

Another important statement is: "It is not the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and the nationalization of undertakings which puts an end to the treatment of human beings as objects and to their position of dependence, but the democratic control of those who have the means of production at their command."

The programme stresses that social policy must no longer be geared to alleged trends or material constraints, insisting that: "In the new society the individual human being is the focal point of economics and politics."

"The aim of modern social policy is to implement the principle of humanity in society. Social policy must see to it that neither economic developments nor scientific and technical advances are left to their own devices, for otherwise social policy is in danger of assuming inhumane characteristics."

The programme insists on the need for social policy to initiate processes instead of reacting to processes; it likewise insists that social policy must integrate the individual areas of politics. "The future and the future living standard of the individual will depend on whether and to what extent we are successful in giving priority to facilities and benefits from which the general public profits vis-à-vis individual wishes and ideas. It is the task of social policy to achieve a balanced relationship between private consumption and socially necessary public functions."

The aims of trade union policy are summed up as follows:

"A society must be created on the foundation of a constitutional state based on freedom and democracy, in which the basic principles of democracy, worker participation and co-responsibility are applied in all fields in which human beings live and work together."

"The DAG's union policy programme is based on what the unions have achieved in years of struggle and proposes to reform and continue the development

of that achievement. The aim of this programme is a society in which

- there is no government which is not endorsed by democratic process and under democratic control,
- freedom of the press and of opinion has been achieved,
- there are equal educational opportunities for all,
- people are insured against illness, accident and unemployment,
- all receive a reasonable old age pension,
- the legal system is adapted to the needs of a modern society,
- the needs of society as a whole take precedence over the interests of the private sector of the economy,
- the state takes greater responsibility for the course of economic events,
- production is based on private sector methods while profits are shared according to socially responsible principles, and
- a new land law is in force."

A special feature of the DAG programme is that it proposes detailed arrangements for worker participation in the productive assets of firms. These arrangements would require firms to pay a certain percentage of their profits in cash, shares or bonds into independent funds. From the assets held by these funds the workers would receive free of charge equal shares which would have to be invested on a long-term basis (for ten years). The shares could be sold at a later date, though on specific fiscal conditions which would make it more attractive to put off selling even longer. The funds would make the capital thus amassed available for investment by the private sector or for social investment by the state. In addition, the DAG calls for savings promotion measures by the public authorities which would encourage savers not by reducing the amount of their taxable income, but by granting them savings premiums.

In the emergency programme submitted to the Bundestag in November 1980 by the DAG a number of points should be mentioned which are of topical importance:

- the demand is made that a basic right of protection against misuse of computerized data be included among the basic rights listed in the constitution. This would provide a constitutional guarantee against misuse of personal data;

- economic growth, an essential prerequisite for full employment and the safeguarding of jobs, must be promoted by a financial policy aimed at intensifying demand and by government investment programmes;
- in the energy field greater use should be made of domestic energy carriers. Nuclear energy should be used as necessary;
- the legal position of white and blue collar workers should be improved by means of an "employment relationship law";
- the regulations governing working hours, which have been in force since 1938, should be replaced by an up-to-date law on this subject;
- legal uncertainty regarding certain aspects of industrial action should be done away with by means of comprehensive legislation in this field;
- equal worker participation in decision-making should be achieved in undertakings and groups of companies; the participation and consultation rights of works councils and public sector staff councils should be improved;
- the range of investment opportunities under the existing law on capital formation should be expanded in such a way that workers may share in the growth of productive assets through the conclusion of collective agreements.

The highest DAG body after the Federal Congress and Federal Council is the Federal Executive, which is made up of the Chairman and eight other members, two of them deputy Chairmen. All members of the Federal Executive are elected by the Federal Congress, which meets every four years.

The Federal Council is the permanent representation of the members between the Federal Congresses. It is made up exclusively of honorary members and is likewise elected by the Federal Congress.

The DAG Consultative Council, a body which advises the Federal Executive, is made up of the heads of the federal occupational sections, the heads of the Land associations, the Federal Secretary for Youth Affairs and the head of the Women's Affairs Section of the Federal Executive. The Consultative Council has the right to be consulted before the Federal Executive takes decisions on certain matters specified in the DAG's statutes.



## The German Christian Trade Union Federation (CGB)

The German Christian Trade Union Federation, the parent organization of the Christian trade unions in the Federal Republic of Germany, was not founded until 1959.

The CGB is made up of 17 unions, of which seven are for industrial workers, five for salaried employees and five for the public sector.

The organs of the CGB are:

- the Federal Congress,
- the Central Council and
- the Federal Executive.

The CGB is organized vertically into Land, regional and local branches.

The CGB publishes the fortnightly "CGB - aktuell" and a news service which appears as needed.

The CGB provides the following breakdown of its members:

blue collar workers	110 500
white collar workers	85 700
public sector, railways and Post Office	<u>91 900</u>
Total	<u>288 100</u>

The section of the CGB's statutes dealing with basic principles states:

"The CGB professes the principles of the Christian faith and is working for their application in the economic, political and social spheres, It endorses the inalienable rights of man, the constitutional principles of democracy, the socially responsible constitutional state and international understanding." It further states: "The CGB is non-denominational and has no party affiliation. It rejects ties with employers and employers' associations. The CGB supports the right of association and the right to strike."

The CGB's conception of itself is put as follows:

"The trade unions which make up the German Christian Trade Union Federation are voluntary associations of blue and white collar workers and civil servants in independent occupational bodies. It is their conviction that the union representation of Christian Social ideas of society are possible only in independent and non-affiliated Christian unions. They are working for a social system built upon basic Christian values and the basic and

human rights which derive from them. It is the function of the state and society and, above all, of the economic system to serve the individual human being and his personal development."

At an extraordinary Federal Congress in October 1977, guiding principles were adopted, a kind of programme. These guiding principles replaced those adopted in 1964. These guiding principles cover 84 points and include the following chapters:

- the CGB's conception of itself;
- state and society;
- free market economy and social obligation;
- collective bargaining policy and capital formation;
- social policy and worker participation;
- education and occupation;
- cosmopolitanism and international cooperation.

The guiding principles contain a number of major statements which accentuate the CGB's programmatic aims:

- The Christian trade unions regard the family as the fundamental and most important social group. Economic and social policy must take more account of the family's needs.
- The Christian trade unions expressly recognize the importance for the economy as a whole of the work performed by women, particularly single women. The state and society must give more recognition to and make a higher assessment of the work done by women who devote themselves exclusively to their families and the upbringing of their children.
- The Christian trade unions endorse a socially responsible market economy as the basis of the social and economic system. This competitive economy requires guidance conforming to market trends to ensure steady qualitative growth taking account of the necessary protection of the environment.
- Appropriate and realistic arrangements for participation by the workers via freely and directly elected representatives in the management of undertakings and participation in productive assets are the alternatives to class struggle. Nationalization and collectivization are not conducive to a liberal way of life.
- A fair distribution of the national income and of the nation's wealth cannot be achieved solely via cash wages. A substantial and lasting

redistribution of the national income to the advantage of working people can be achieved only by diverting special additional components of wages into savings and capital formation.

- The Christian trade unions regard solidarity, the principle of decentralization, self-help and the acceptance of responsibility by individuals and groups as the basic principles of its social policy aims.
- A society's efficiency is determined in part by the quality of the education and training received by the individual. The structure of the education system must take account of the wide range of talents and educational aims and the multiplicity of occupations. Comprehensive schools do not meet the requirements of education and training tailored to individuals and to individual talents.
- The benefits provided by the social security system and the satisfactory operation of the principle of solidarity between the generations are heavily dependent on an effective family policy. A comprehensively designed family policy must recognize the basic function of the family: the bringing up of children within the family and by the family.

#### The attitude of the trade unions to the question of European unification

##### The German Trade Union Federation

The German Trade Union Federation is one of the trailblazers. Its participation in the European trade union movement began as early as 1958 when the "European Trade Union Secretariat" was set up in Brussels by the "free" trade union federations in the - at the time - six Member States of the Community. Subsequently, leading DGB officials occupied responsible positions at European level as well and played a substantial part in determining policy in the European Federation of Free Trade Unions, which was founded in 1969, as in the European Trade Union Confederation, which was founded in 1973 and included unions in countries outside the Community.

It is the DGB's view that this expansion to include all the democratic countries of Western Europe in no way had a disintegrative effect - as was at first feared - but rather provided a model for trade union unity throughout Europe. In fact there has been a concentration of the unions since 1973, for the European regional organizations of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) disbanded and almost all the Christian trade unions became members of the European Confederation of Trade Unions.

The DGB also supports the view that the model provided by the ETUC has promoted national trade union unity in a number of countries, for example the Netherlands and Italy, and even in France, where a degree of rapprochement has been observed over the years between the CFDT and the CGT-FO.

With regard to France's CGT, the Chairman of the DGB wrote in an article which dealt, among other things, with the reasons which made it possible to accept Italy's CGIL into the ETUC: "France's CGT, on the other hand, must be judged in a fundamentally different manner, for its policy is quite clearly determined by the French Communist Party". There has been no change in this attitude, particularly since there is a majority within the ETUC which regards membership of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) as incompatible with ETUC membership.

The DGB is opposed to membership for Spain's Comisiones Obreras and Portugal's Intersindical, both of which wish to join the ETUC. The reason for this attitude, which is not confined to the DGB, is to be found - in part - in the fact that the American trade unions are thinking of rejoining the ICFTU.

Ever since the European Communities (including the ECSC) came into being, the DGB has backed the idea of an integrated Europe and thus taken an active part in forming European trade union policy. When the first direct elections to the European Parliament were held in 1979, the DGB - as a special contribution to the ETUC's campaign, as it were - presented workers in the Federal Republic of Germany with "Ten Good Reasons for Europe" to get them interested in the elections. It included a number of important statements:

- cooperation in Europe safeguards peace;
- Europe needs democratically elected institutions;
- there are no national recipes for overcoming crises - unemployment should be item 1 on the agenda;
- the European Parliament must develop a European regional policy;
- the ETUC sees the European Parliament as its European ally; this is why the workers need substantial representation within that body.

In its basic programme of 1981 the DGB stresses the need to reinforce all institutions - including Community institutions - which were set up for the purpose of international economic cooperation and at the same time to keep these institutions under effective democratic control. The programme demands direct and equal participation for the workers in the work of such institutions.

The DGB's basic programme sees the European Community as an important part of a worldwide economic and social system based on the principles of equal rights and mutual understanding and joins the ICFTU in endorsing the developing countries' demand that their export opportunities be safeguarded and expanded and their export earnings stabilized.

Referring to the European Community, the basic programme says: "Europe's economic integration must be imbued by a political readiness to implement a common economic and social policy geared to the interests of the workers." The basis for this, the programme says, is a union of free countries which recognize basic democratic rights and free and independent trade union organizations. The DGB also advocates that "the free European trade union organizations consolidate their cooperation, so as to acquire greater effectiveness in defending the workers' interests within Europe's economic unions".

This view is likewise at the root of the DGB's endorsement of the need to extend the Community to further countries in Southern Europe in the awareness that this expansion "will considerably influence the European Community's economic, social, political and cultural character". In this context the DGB believes that the European Community has not developed along the - largely conservative - lines initially envisaged for it. It is the DGB's view that the so-called "little Europe" approach would have provided far less scope for a joint trade union policy aimed at achieving a "thorough-going democratization and the development of European social policy".

On many occasions the DGB has stressed that Europe, as a community of nations, must not be merely a combination of national governments, perhaps dominated by France and the Federal Republic of Germany, and that this idea of Europe never had a chance of being put into effect. The DGB instead supported the attitude of the smaller countries, which are opposed to any form of hegemony in Europe. Furthermore, the DGB regards the newly-elected European Parliament - despite all the weaknesses still evident in its activities and its image - as an important factor in overcoming ideas of a "Europe of governments". The DGB is convinced that the citizens and workers of Europe will gradually take an active part in the development of Europe - as a political reaction to that "Europe of business interests" which are "less interested in international policies than in the creation of a framework within which trade and industry could develop undisturbed".

The DGB is in complete accord with the ETUC's action priorities in respect of the economic crisis within the Community, which is increasingly manifesting itself in the form of rising unemployment figures. To combat all the consequences of a crisis which is all-embracing as regards both cause and effect, there must be a political readiness on the part of all for an economic and social policy tailored to workers' interests. The instruments of such an economic and social policy must be framed in such a way and must work in such a way that their use produces greater solidarity and trust - essential elements of any successful policy.

Europe can fulfill its task of playing a part in world politics that much more effectively if its own European policy helps to strengthen its own identity. To achieve this aim, the workers must be given more direct opportunities - with their trade unions and with the ETUC - to participate in the drafting of Community policy.

#### The German Salaried Employees' Union

Since the DAG is not a member of the European Confederation of Trade Unions (ETUC), its European and international endeavours are concentrated on intensive cooperation with the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (IFCCTE), which has its headquarters in Geneva, and the European regional organization of this international federation (EURO-FIET), which forms a trade union committee with the European Confederation of Trade Unions. In this way the DAG is indirectly - though somewhat marginally - involved in union affairs at European Community level.

For the moment at least there is no chance of the DAG's becoming an ETUC member, since there are no signs of a rapprochement between the DGB and the DAG on the question of organization.

On the other hand the DAG is represented on the German Council of the European Movement and took an active part in the preparations for the first direct elections to the European Parliament. Furthermore, the DAG repeatedly stresses that it wishes to take an active part in the affairs of the European Community, for example through its representatives on the Community's Economic and Social Committee and the ECSC Consultative Committee. It also proposes to expand its contacts with the Members of the European Parliament, mainly in order to "bring the ideas of the DAG on a European policy for

salaried employees gradually closer to implementation".

European topics are high on the list of the DAG's educational and training programmes, although - as DAG Chairman Hermann Brandt said in a recent interview - the emphasis is to be shifted somewhat in the future. Brandt said that it was less necessary to deal with the basic ideology of a united Europe than to "explain the advantages of a united Europe by means of specific information relating to the interests of our members".

With regard to advances in European integration, which have so far concentrated mainly on liberalization in the economic sphere, the DAG stresses that equivalent advances must now be made in the social field. This would include a cautious extension of the European human rights convention, which, though it covers the classic rights, does not, for example, contain an article about the right to employment.

The DAG supports efforts to expand the Community, but wants to see that expansion linked to an economic and social union. It regards as a priority task efforts to do away with regional inequalities within the Community and thorough-going combating of structural and employment problems, for these problems are likely to become bigger as the Community expands southwards. The DAG likewise regards as important joint steps to secure supplies of energy and raw materials, always keeping in mind that account must be taken of the economic and social interests of the developing countries.

The DAG incorporated its views on international trade union work in its 1979 social policy programme, which states:

"The basis for progress and security in all parts of the world is the achievement and maintenance of peace. Only cooperation between all states, regardless of their social system, and respect for the right of self-determination of all peoples can ensure a lasting peace."

"In line with these principles the DAG works on a basis of friendship and solidarity with all free and independent salaried employees' trade unions in the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees. We endorse the aims of this free international trade union organization -

- to participate in all efforts to unite the peoples of the world under conditions of freedom and equality, to make joint use of the world's resources and for the common good of all;

- to promote the international solidarity of the free trade unions by uniting salaried employees of all countries regardless of nationality, race and beliefs;
- to combat economic and social exploitation;
- to reject all forms of racial discrimination; to defend and promote the social, economic and cultural interests of salaried employees at international level and representing their interests in all the relevant international bodies."

In the section on international trade union endeavours the DAG complains about the fact that it is not directly involved in trade union endeavours at Community level, a situation it evidently regards as a shortcoming:

"The DAG is striving for direct membership in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the European Confederation of Trade Unions and the sectoral international bodies, where these represent DAG members belonging to the relevant sector."

#### The German Christian Trade Union Federation (CGB)

The CGB is not at present a member of any international trade union organization. However, it has contacts with a number of Christian trade unions in other countries; some of the CGB's member associations are evidently active at European level in the international sectoral organizations of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL).

The guiding principles published by the CGB in 1977 has this to say about its attitude to international cooperation:

"The German Christian trade unions endorse cooperation at the European and international level. They seek encounters and friendship on an international scale, which will be all the more honest and natural, the more matter-of-factly the awareness of one's own people and respect for that of other peoples is fostered. In view of the discrepancies in development between the wealthy and poor countries the reduction of the existing economic and social imbalances is one of the outstanding tasks of our time. The highly developed industrialized countries must make a substantial contribution to overcoming these structural differences by helping the developing countries to help themselves."

"Political integration in a European community, which must be open to all the free peoples of Europe, is the best guarantee for a peaceful future for these peoples; it is also an essential prerequisite for the fulfilment of



Europe's duties at international level, particularly in respect of the developing countries."

"The German Christian trade unions endorse the principle of the free movement of labour within Europe. Such restrictions as still exist must be done away with."

"The German Christian trade unions are in favour of the social integration of foreign workers on the same social footing as local workers. They oppose the social isolation of such workers."

"The influx of workers from countries outside the European Community must be brought into line with the overall economic situation. The selection of workers, the application of measures to control recruitment and immigration, residence, and voluntary return to the country of origin must all be aimed at a socially responsible consolidation of the employment of migrant workers."

"The trade unions have a decisive role to play in the process of European integration. The European trade union movement must not be dominated by an organization with a socialist leadership and socialist aims. It is therefore the aim of the German Christian trade unions to unite non-socialist European unions in a European organization of Christian and democratic unions. The CGB refuses to work with state-run trade unions and unions with totalitarian aims."

"Our reasoned and justified call for the granting of human rights, particularly the German people's right to self-determination, will find attention in the world only to the extent that we ourselves recognize our common German past and assume our historic responsibilities."

Unlike the DAG, which is looking for opportunities to cooperate at the European and international level with the organizations in which the DGB plays an important part, the CGB is still sticking to the idea of uniting "non-socialist" (i.e. Christian) European trade unions in one organization, although almost all such unions have been cooperating with the European Confederation of Trade Unions since 1974 and although this cooperation, despite alleged ideological barriers, long ago proved its worth.

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